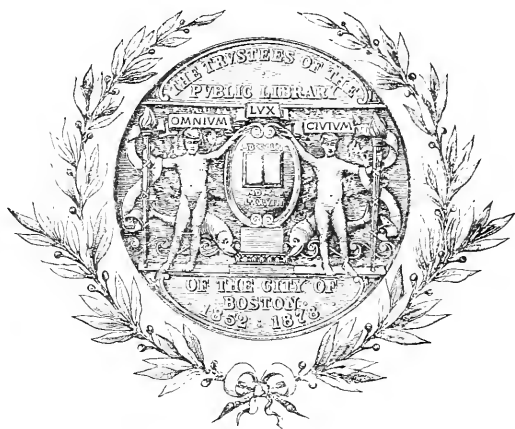




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PAMPHLETS.

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MEMORANDA.

THE JOINT DEBATES

BETWEEN

George Northrop, Esq., Democratic, and Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, Republican,

NOMINEES FOR CONGRESS IN THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF PENNA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. Northrop to Judge Kelley.

No. 524 WALNUT STREET.

HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY. Dear Sir: You and I have been nominated by the respective political parties to which we belong, as candidates for Congress in the Fourth District of Pennsylvania. Of course, we ask the support of the voters of the District on account of the principles which we severally represent.

In order, therefore, that the people of the District may judge between us in this respect, I propose to you that the citizens of both political parties should be called together, and that we should together address them.

If this proposition shall be accepted by you, arrangements can be made to secure order and fairness in the discussion.

Please let me have your reply at once, as your absence from the city has already delayed me.
September 13, 1864.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE NORTHROP.

Judge Kelley to Mr. Northrop.

N. E. COR. FORTY-FIRST AND MYRTLE STREETS.

GEORGE NORTHROP, Esq. Dear Sir: I regret that your favor of the 13th inst., containing a request that I would let you have my reply at once, as my absence from the city had already delayed you, was not handed me by your friend until to-day. I was at home on the day of the date, and would have given it immediate attention.

I at once accept your proposition, that the citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of both political parties shall be called together, and that we shall together address them. As the District is composed of five populous wards, and as your object is to make the people of the District to judge between us in respect to the principles we respectively represent, I suggest that arrangements be made for two meetings, at least, in each Ward, which shall continue for not less than three hours each. This arrangement will enable us both to state our principles, and the good or evil likely to flow from their application to the questions now pending before the country, in the hearing of a majority of the voters of the District. Should you prefer a larger number of meetings, I will not object, as my purpose in accepting your proposition is to enable the people to select between us with knowledge of our principles and those of the parties which have placed us in nomination.

If you will have the goodness to send me the names of friends to whom you wish to confide the arrangements for the discussion, I will take measures to bring them into intercourse with an equal number of my friends. Hoping that what I have said will be satisfactory to you,
September 16, 1864.

I remain, very truly, yours,

WM. D. KELLEY.

Mr. Northrop to Judge Kelley.

No. 524 WALNUT STREET.

HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY. Dear Sir: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th, accepting the proposition made by me in my letter of the 13th. The gentlemen of the Committee to act on my behalf in arranging the discussion, are Col. James Page, Hon. Wm. H. Witte, and Col. McCandless. They will be glad to meet those whom you may select at any time designated by you.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

September 17, 1864.

GEORGE NORTHROP.

Judge Kelley to Mr. Northrop.

N. E. COR. FORTY-FIRST AND MYRTLE STREETS.

GEORGE NORTHROP, Esq. Dear Sir: Your favor of the 17th reached me late in the evening of that day, and I avail myself of the earliest moment to reply.

It gives me pleasure to name Leonard R. Fletcher, Esq., of the Fourteenth Ward, William H. Kern, Esq., Fifteenth Ward, and John M. Riley, Esq., Twentieth Ward, as constituents who will meet your friends and make all necessary arrangements for the discussion you propose.

If agreeable to Messrs. Page, Witte, and McCandless, a meeting can be had to-morrow afternoon at four o'clock, at the office of Mr. Kern, second story, Penn Mutual Insurance Company building, No. 921 Chestnut street.

Very truly, yours,

WM. D. KELLEY.

Mr. Northrop to Judge Kelley.

No. 524 WALNUT STREET.

HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY. Dear Sir: Your note of to-day has just been received. The gentlemen who have consented to act for me will meet your Committee at the hour and place designated by you.

Very respectfully, yours,

September 19, 1864.

GEORGE NORTHROP.

In pursuance of the above arrangement the Committees have agreed upon the following preliminaries:

George Northrop, Esq., Democratic candidate for Congress in the Fourth Congressional District of the State of Pennsylvania, having challenged the Hon. William D. Kelley, the National Union candidate for the same District to open discussion (before the citizens of both political parties,) the Hon. William D. Kelley accepted the said challenge. Mr. Northrop appointed Colonel James Page, Hon. Wm. H. Witte, and Colonel McCandless, for arranging the discussion on his behalf; the Hon. William D. Kelley having appointed Messrs. L. R. Fletcher, Esq., William H. Kern, and John M. Riley. Said Committees met on the 20th instant, and agreed upon the following preliminaries:

First. There shall be eight meetings, commencing at 7½ o'clock P. M., and continuing three hours.

First meeting to be held on Friday, September 23d. Second meeting to be held on Monday, September 26th, at Broad and Spring Garden streets, for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Wards. Third meeting on Wednesday, September 28th. Fourth meeting on Thursday, September 29th, at Seventeenth and Poplar streets, for the Twentieth Ward. Fifth meeting on Monday, October 3d. Sixth meeting on Tuesday, October 4th, at the Masonic Hall, Manayunk, for the Twenty-first Ward. Seventh meeting on Thursday, October 6th. Eighth meeting on Friday, October 7th, at the West Philadelphia Hall, Thirty-seventh and Market streets, in Twenty-fourth Ward.

At the first meeting on Friday, September 23d, George Northrop, Esq., will open the discussion and occupy an hour; the Hon. William D. Kelley to follow and occupy one and a-half hours; Mr. Northrop to conclude and occupy one-half hour, and the discussion to alternate thus during the continuance of the meetings.

Personalities are to be avoided; evidences of approbation or disapprobation on the part of the audience not to be allowed. No badge or lantern to be permitted at the meetings.

Messrs. Northrop and Kelley shall each appoint a friend to act as moderator alternately, and in case of their inability to agree, the moderator to appoint an umpire.

The expense of the several meetings to be borne equally by the parties.

L. R. FLETCHER, WM. H. KERN, and JOHN M. RILEY, Committee on behalf of the Hon. Wm. D. Kelley. JAMES PAGE, W. H. WITTE, and WM. McCANDLESS, Committee on behalf of George Northrop, Esq.

PHILADELPHIA, September 20, 1864.

The First Joint Debate between George Northrop, Esq., and Hon. William D. Kelley,

IN THE HALL OF THE SPRING GARDEN INSTITUTE, FRIDAY EVENING,
SEPTEMBER 23, 1864.

GEN. WILLIAM M'CANDLESS, MODERATOR.

OPENING REMARKS OF GEORGE NORTHROP, Esq.

PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY D. WOLFE BROWN.

GEORGE NORTHROP, Esq., being introduced by the Moderator, said:—

Fellow-citizens:—It is well, perhaps, that I should say a few words to you in relation to the manner in which the canvass is now proposed to be conducted in the Fourth District.

I believe we all agree that the present position of parties involves issues of the very highest importance; and I have thought it well, in this time of trouble and excitement, and political and sectional division, that those who ask to represent the sentiments of the district in Congress, should come before the people of the District and explain the views which they severally hold, and upon which they ask their support. As far, gentlemen, as I am concerned, it was, I assure you, with no vain-glorious spirit that I asked the gentleman who opposes me to-night, and who opposes me in the canvass, to enter the lists. It was not for the purpose of testing his well-tried experience, or claiming even the notoriety of antagonism to his positions. I come before you with but the one earnest desire—to develop the truth—to exhibit perfectly the issues which lie between the two parties in this canvass—thoroughly to examine all the questions which have agitated the country, (some of them newly agitated within the last three years,) and to give the reasons of the political faith which we may hold.

Gentlemen, if there ever was a time when it was important to settle political questions according to the truth—when it was important to settle the principles which should control and govern parties, and control and govern the country, that time is now; and in order that there may be a full and clear statement of the questions of the day, and the propositions which it is suggested shall be discussed, I shall proceed at once to state a few pro-

positions and a few questions; as it devolves upon me to open this discussion, and I presume, to a certain extent, to suggest the topics of this evening's discussion, as well perhaps as those of the canvass.

The first proposition which I announce is this: That the Constitution of the United States, within its limitations, is the supreme law of the land, and the only bond of the Union of the States.

2. The only mode by which the Constitution can be altered or amended is prescribed by that instrument itself.

3. Whenever any department of government exercises any power beyond or antagonistic to the Constitution, it is revolution.

4. A successful revolution against the Constitution by those in power, subverts the principles of our Government, produces anarchy and establishes a despotism.

5. The theory of the equality of the negro with the white man is not a justifiable principle of revolution.

In addition to these, I have a few questions which I will propound as I proceed in the argument.

Gentlemen, although you may understand perfectly well all the theories of government which may have existed prior to the adoption of the Constitution, we can never too often revert to the fact that, when it was framed, it embraced, as a principle of government, a new element. There had been governments from time out of mind; but there had always existed an antagonism between the governing element and the people. You recognize the fact that history has been but one single succession of statements in relation to the dynasties and families and men who have governed; and the "divine right of kings" has been taught, with the divine right of transmitting their divinity to their successors. The people suffered and groaned, but, nevertheless, ordinarily submitted to the power of the government which they recognized to be the supreme power to control them.

Once in a while, during this history of the past, men of the people arose, and questioned this "divine right of kings." They believed that there was a right on the part of the people to have something to say with regard to the government and the principles of government, and they did not believe at last that it was a settled fact, against which the people could raise no voice of protest, that there should be this divinity and this succession of power. They did not believe that the people were made simply to fill armies and to be taxed. They believed that the people had a right to be heard—had a right to control the government—in other words, they taught boldly that government was for the people, and for the benefit of the people, and not for the benefit of the ruling caste. These teachings created revolutions and disturbances in the different nations of Europe. The whole history of many of the years of the past has been a simple history of the struggles of the people against power. Now and then the people would gain a foothold; but the tide of despotism was strong; they would lose that which they had gained; and everything would relapse into the old channels.

The principle thus contended for from time to time was that upon which our ancestors acted when they laid down the broad foundation and placed it in the Constitution as a cardinal principle, that Government was for the people, and not for those who executed the Government. In other words, they built a structure of government in which the sovereignty of the people was the ruling element, and not the right and power of monarch or prince. Accordingly, they framed a Constitution embodying the principle that those who conduct the Executive Department of the Government are the servants of the people; that they derive their authority from the people under the Constitution, and that their power and their control and their influence are limited legitimately by the Constitution and the Laws.

Upon this basis, the States of the Union came in under that Constitution. In that instrument, as first framed, there were many things which were objected to. Different States had their different views with regard to certain propositions. Certain of them thought it well to have what was called a bill of rights, declaratory of the rights which they the sovereign States possessed, prior to their entering into this compact, this confederation, or this Union. Others thought that there should be other provisions in that Constitution. The result was that subsequently to the adoption of the original Constitution, which was given to the people by the Convention over which George Washington presided, there were adopted certain amendments—stronger than protests, stronger if possible than bills of right, stronger than any legislative enactments of States with regard to the positions of those States, because they were engrafted in the Constitution itself, co-equal and co-extensive in power and application with that Constitution as originally framed.

Those amendments were deemed at that time, as we still deem them, the most important parts of the Constitution. They are embraced in twelve articles. The first article prohibits Congress from making any "law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Article Second provides that "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Article Fourth declares that "The right of the

people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." Article Fifth provides that "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." And then comes what was deemed the most important clause of all. It is found in the Tenth Article, in these words,—“The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

Now, Gentlemen, the men of that day foresaw that there was a probability or a possibility that there might arise questions differing from those which had then arisen, and which might disturb the harmony or at least divide the popular sentiment of the different parts of this country. In order to meet that contingency, they provided in the Fifth Article of the original Constitution that there should be the means, which they designated, of making amendments to that Constitution. I have submitted, as my second proposition, that the only mode by which the Constitution can be altered or amended is prescribed by that instrument itself; and there exists on this continent no power which can legally interfere with that provision, to change any principle of that Constitution.

An important proof of the conciliatory spirit of the early days is to be found in the history of the eleventh article of these amendments, which reads thus:—“The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.”

Now, Gentlemen, I will give you what perhaps may be little known to most of you, the history of that amendment. After the adoption of the Constitution as originally framed, a question arose under a section of that Constitution which gives to the Federal judiciary the power of trying questions where citizens of a State might be parties on the one hand and a State a party on the other. In reference to one of the States of this Union the following facts occurred:—There was a proceeding instituted against this State by persons alleging themselves to be citizens of another State. They cited this State before the Federal tribunal; notwithstanding that there was a provision of the Constitution giving to the judiciary of the United States power to entertain such a case, that State held that it should not be and would not be brought before any tribunal, at the action of any citizen, to have its sovereign power degraded and disgraced. It held the doctrine which all States have held, that, if you have any claim against a sovereign State, you must urge or press it by petition to the proper authorities; that you cannot cite a sovereign State before any judiciary, because you may, in process of law, have to issue executions or other processes, which might militate against the freedom and sovereign rights of the State.

That State at once stood in a hostile attitude, defying that law and that principle. What did the people of that day do? Did they say “There is that principle in the Constitution, and that principle shall be enforced at all hazards, and you shall be brought into subjection by armed interposition?” No; with a conciliatory spirit (and I do not think that I am traveling out of the record when I express the wish that such a spirit had existed within the last three years) the people of that day, the leading men of that time took cognizance of the position of that State; they acted upon the suggestion of that State; and the Eleventh Article of the amendments of the Constitution was adopted, which took out of the Federal jurisdiction the right to entertain any suits by citizens of one State against a sovereign State. This passed by quietly—so quietly that within the short history of our time the reason for the adoption of that article is almost forgotten.

That circumstance shows that even where there is an element of antagonism to the Government, wisdom is manifested by taking the conciliatory side of the question and by appeasing all the elements of ill-feeling and opposition rather than by attempting to trample them down and raising still more dire and formidable opposition.

Now, Gentlemen, the Constitution having been adopted, the principle of alteration having been placed there as a safeguard, important results having taken place in relation to the amendments under that very principle, I say that I hold it (as does I believe the party I represent) as a cardinal principle that whenever any department of government exercises any power beyond or antagonistic to the Constitution, that is revolution. We know that in other countries, with settled forms of government, where the element of the people's power is not felt, where there are no constitutional provisions to make changes, there is but one way to change the course of political events, it is by revolution and antagonism—by tearing down the existing order of things and the government which may at the time subsist and by establishing upon its ruins that which the revolutionary power desires to be established, or which the people insist shall be established.

Now, it is a fair corollary from this, that a successful revolution against the Constitution by those in power subverts the principles of the Government, produces anarchy, and establishes a despotism.

I am discussing for the present these abstract propositions of government, and the time will come in this discussion when I shall show their applicability to all the issues involved

in the present contest. I do not believe that any theory, that any policy of any administration has a right to place itself beyond, or above, or antagonistic to, the principles of the Constitution; and I avow here the Democratic doctrine that the very instant a policy or a theory is avowed which the Constitution does not sustain, and for the support of which you must go outside of the Constitution, that very instant the power which inaugurates that policy or theory begins a revolution against the Government itself. If a policy or principle cannot stand the test of the Constitution, you need not argue to me the "military necessity" or any other necessity. It matters nothing to me on what principle or what theory any party may interfere with the rights that I believe to be mine, and inalienably mine; it matters nothing to me upon what abstract principles you base your theories or how you bring the personal applications to bear; I stand simply and solely upon the doctrine that those rights which are guaranteed to me by the Constitution are dearer to me and better for me, if I have the right of judgment (which I claim I have) than any theories which you can raise which infringe upon those rights and upon my freedom.

Since the Constitution was framed, there has seldom been any necessity, save within the last three years, to discuss any principle with regard to the paramount character of that Constitution, under the limitations contained in it, as a principle of government. With that Constitution, inseparably connected, (a sundering of one being a severance of the other) is the Union, which exists under that and with that, and with certain powers of sovereignty in the States beyond that, because reserved and guaranteed to those States by the very instrument itself.

The Democratic party, holding these general principles, believe that the present Administration has completely defied them and set them at naught. We believe that it is evident from the discussions in Congress, that the gentlemen who represent Administration views cannot agree upon the terms of re-union, measures of policy, or upon the positions of the different States of this Union in this contest. We believe that there can be no division of this country, no strife between sections, that cannot have at least the brotherly element of peaceful solution applied or attempted to be applied to it. We all know that when this contest commenced there was a united North to answer the call of the authorities at Washington to suppress what was supposed to be a rebellion of a few days. Why was that united feeling exhibited? Because the statement was made at that time that the course of the Administration was designed to reduce rebellious States to their allegiance to the Constitution in the Union. The whole policy and course of the Administration seemed to point toward that end. You know as well as I know that no divisions were made, no party lines were drawn, with regard to the uprising which then took place in response to the call of the President. Why was it? Men did not stop to discuss what other appliances there were. Their sentiment was that, if the theory of the Administration was war, and that war could put down the rebellion and bring back the Union to its original condition, they would agree to that policy, and would take part in it. How long did that condition of affairs remain?

I argue this without bitterness. I know that there are in this room friends of mine who belong to the Democratic party. I know that there are upon the other side gentlemen who belong to the opposition party; that that opposition party embraces various elements and different degrees of antagonism. I know that there is in that party a leading element—the Abolition element; but I also know that there are some gentlemen belonging to that opposition party who do not believe that the success of the Abolition element is the all-important purpose to be attained by this Government. I know that they believe that there may be other measures to bring back the Union, beside that of the destruction of slavery, which is very problematical in its results. I am here to-night with the earnestness of a man pleading for the life, not of a fellow-man, but of a nation, before you, a jury of the people, who are to judge of these great questions, upon which, as I believe, the life of the nation depends. I do avow my conviction that re-construction is not possible under any circumstances, save under the doctrines and theories of the Democratic party. I do not believe that any theory of reconstruction is practicable except that which recognizes the great and sovereign principle of reconstruction by the States. You cannot treat as two antagonistic Governments. You cannot draw the line as to what Mr. Lincoln shall represent, or what Mr. Davis shall represent, if you come to any treaty or any arrangement or any agreement. Suppose Mr. Lincoln's ultimatum be taken, and that we say to the South "You shall have slavery abolished before any single word of yours shall be heard; you shall not crawl back upon your knees with a single slave within your Territory." What does this mean? Why, it means that the war is carried on now in view of the element of slavery, and on behalf of antagonism to slavery. It means, not that there shall be a Union as it was, nor the Constitution as it is, but that there shall be one single uniform, overshadowing principle in this country, originating in New England, which principle is the abolition of slavery.

Now, gentlemen, I say that the right of the States to control their own domestic institutions—the right of the States to settle those institutions—belongs to them exclusively; and no other State or power has a right to interfere. The States now in rebellion must be

brought back in one of two ways, whether it be by war or by peace. You must bring them back either as sovereign States under the Constitution, with all the privileges of sovereign States guaranteed to them by that instrument; or you must bring them back as conquered provinces—which no constitution of this country recognizes.

Now, here is the point with regard to amendments: If there be in the Constitution an element which puts in the hands of any State or any set of States a power which is antagonistic to the principles of our Government, let it be altered or taken away under the provisions of that Constitution for amendments. And I hold that when this war began to be waged against an element which, however objectionable to many, was an element which each State in the South had a right to consider as a part of its domestic institutions—when the war was waged against that, it was waged against the Constitution, against the privileges of the States, and the principles of the Government, and it was, and is, revolutionary. I say further, that when Acts were passed by the Congress of the United States, and Proclamations were made by the President, which militated against my rights and your rights as citizens, under the plea of "military necessity," then also there was a position of antagonism in the Administration at Washington against the Constitution, and that was revolutionary.

I say, moreover, that while I contend here for these principles, I am not contending for them as Southern propositions for the sake of Southern success, I am contending for these principles as a man standing upon Northern soil, in my own State of Pennsylvania, and beseeching my friends and fellow-citizens of this great Commonwealth not to be deluded by false issues, but to see that they understand the questions involved before they give willing and substantial support to any policy. I am contending simply and solely for my rights as a Northern man: and I ask Northern men to consider the question whether the abolition of slavery (which is a question between New England fanaticism on the one hand and the hereditary institutions of the South on the other)—is a question in which you are going to take part, politically or otherwise, to the detriment and loss of your liberties both political and individual.

My proposition is, that I do not believe that the theory of the equality of the negro with the white man is a justifiable principle of revolution. If Slavery is to be abolished, it must not be abolished by proclamation; for any attempt to do so is Unconstitutional. Gentlemen, you may talk about this thing being forced to this point; you may say that this is a question which the war has brought upon us. I tell Mr. Lincoln and his friends, to-day, that he had it in his power to place the whole of these Northern States upon a unanimous basis of support. He, when he arrayed the great armies of the North, might have paused—in the name of humanity, in the name of religion, in the name of the great strength of the Northern people, and in view of the great future of the country, he might have paused, and said, "Before I call these millions of Northern men to put down what I believe to be a causeless rebellion and revolution—I pause upon the threshold. I halt my army upon your borders. I ask you now what cause of grievance you have—what you demand. Send me your commissioners, that I may know your complaints. Let me know whether there can be no peaceful solution of this difficulty. Let me hear what the people of the South demand." If he had done so, my word for it, the questions would have been settled. There would have been peace to-day. There would not have been these innumerable graves. There would not have been this terrible feeling of hatred and hostility between the two sections of the nation. There would not have been a country ruined in every thing but the manufacturing interests, which sustain the war, and which the war sustains. There would have been no terrible piling up of taxation for the support of this principle of war and this theory of the abolition of slavery. But suppose, on the other hand, that the powers professing to represent the Southern element, should have said, "No, we will send no commissioners; we will not treat with you; we will not regard your voice of warning; we do not accept your invitation." What would have been the feeling of the Northern people under such circumstances? There would have been one unanimous support of the principle of the Administration, that war should be carried on for the maintenance of the Constitution and the reconstruction of the Union. Whatever differences and distinctions there may be between parties with regard to ultimate points and the mode of treating great questions for results, I state my firm belief, that such would have been the consequence of a conciliatory course on the part of the Administration. But no such appeal was made. The armies of the North were poured down upon the South; antagonism was met by antagonism. All the feeling and spirit in that Southern country in favor of the Constitution, and of the Union (and I believe that there was much of such spirit and feeling) were trampled out; and, finally, bitterness was added to bitterness, and power begat the lust of power, until military domination supplanted in the land the element of law, the element of order, and you have placed in an unyielding position those men whom you might have won by conciliation. This is my theory with regard to the progress of this war.

Now and then you found that there was some word coming across this border land of contest, which looked to peace, to Union, to reconstruction, to the recognition of the Con-

stitution. These proffers came indirectly, because those making them did not wish to be roughly met and turned back. But at last Mr. Lincoln and the Administration supporters of Mr. Lincoln promulgated their edict "To whom it may concern," shutting out all concession, all arrangement, all hopes of Union, all hopes of the restoration of the authority of the Constitution, unless, under the most absolute and unequivocal degradation and the yielding up of every right. Again, when you insist upon the abolition of slavery in the Southern states, what do you pretend to do with the States? how do you profess to bring them back? What will be the terms under which you will rule them? How will you exercise the authority of the law over them? You must keep standing armies there. You will have no union of heart and feeling and sympathy, such as should spring from a realization of our common brotherhood and the destiny of the race and the progress of this Republic and its principles. You have shut that out forever; and even if you conquer every Southern State and bring every man, woman and child in the South upon their knees before you; you have but a military despotism, which will cost as much to sustain over them as it does now to carry on the war; and you have no result of peace, you have no result of quiet. You keep them forever in an abject position; and those only will have benefit from that who may go into different sections of that country, and buy up and settle upon the lands of the South under the Government bayonets, which must protect them in their possessions. You will have but that result. And when you talk of a reconstruction of the Union by force of arms, think for one instant, what you would do under like circumstances, and whether it would be possible for you under any conditions to give up everything that was exclusively your own; because, recollect that, in yielding up what they believe to be right, and a domestic institution which is necessary to them, they yield all that constitutes their wealth, their success, their enterprise.

They say very frankly to you, "We do not see why our slaves, working peaceably and quietly upon the fields of the South, should be taken from their white masters and put into servitude in the North, under white officers—a slavery which is more dangerous to them; you do not acknowledge the equality of the races, why then do you seek to take them from under our care, where they are engaged in the peaceful cultivation of the soil, and place them in Northern armies under other white men's control, to take them down to fight and die upon the battle-field. You give them as little discretion in the one case as in the other; and we do not see that such a policy will redound to the benefit of the black man: you do not carry out your doctrine of negro equality; you place him in no position of responsibility or trust."

These are questions which are directly in issue between the two parties. There is now a pronounced and distinct avowal that there can be no peaceful arrangement made under the administration of Mr. Lincoln, save that which looks to the New England element of the abolition of slavery. You cannot escape from that proclamation, "To whom it may Concern." The door is shut forever. What might have placed us as a power correct and invincible before the world as against the South, has been lost. That is now gone forever. There is no hope of a stoppage of the war, there is no hope of a reconstruction of the Union under Mr. Lincoln, or within the next four years, if he should be re-elected, unless he changes his policy, as he did shortly after he took his seat in the Presidential chair. He said to gentlemen who wished him to deal with this slavery question by proclamation, that he had no right to do so; that even if he did, such a proclamation would be inoperative and void; that it would be like "the Pope's bull against the comet." He resisted these things for a certain time; but the tide of fanaticism was too much for him. He paused, and he gave up all that he had pledged himself to do in sustaining the Constitution and the rights of the States, not only in his oath of office to support that Constitution, but in his Inaugural Address. By the course which he has taken and the issue which he has placed as the only issue between the North and the South, he has abjured all the solemn obligations which he himself acknowledged in the beginning of his Presidential career.

Now, I hold that I, who am for the largest liberty possible to each of the races of mankind, am not to be deprived of my liberty that you may hear less distinctly the fancied clank of any negro's fetters. I do not believe that the liberty of all the negroes on this continent is worth the blood of the white men that have been slain in this contest. And I ask those gentlemen who support him to pause; I would rather have asked them to pause prior to that proclamation of Mr. Lincoln's "To whom it may concern;" I would have asked them then to pause. I care not if they should have had the glory of reconstruction. I want reconstruction; I want peace; I want tranquillity. I desire that the elements of progress shall be again evolved. I would be glad to-day to have every facility given to Mr. Lincoln and his administration to carry out these principles and these results. But he has put his foot down distinctly and unequivocally, leaving no question as to his position; and the great political point is between the permanence or perpetuity of the power of Mr. Lincoln and the installing of a new administration. It is whether for such an object as Mr. Lincoln holds out, you desire this war to go on to its bitter end, with its destructive results, with its immense out-pouring of blood, the fearful feeling of antagonism which it stirs up between the sections, its enormous piling up of taxation upon the people, the

retarding of civilization and the progress of this great country. That is one of the questions to be settled,

Involved directly in the propositions which I have submitted, there are certain questions which I will, with all respect to my friend upon the other side, now propose to him. They are all points entering into the issue directly or indirectly, and most of them directly resulting from the propositions already stated.

1. Are you in favor of the restoration of the Union of these States, with their rights and powers as they were at the breaking out of this rebellion?

2. Do you regard as constitutional, and do you approve of, the exercise of the military and civil power of the Federal Government to create and establish new States out of parts of old one?

3. Do you approve of any or all of the twenty-three acts of Congress, each having for its object the declared purpose of giving to the negro all the rights, immunities and privileges which have hitherto been enjoyed by the white man only?

4. Are you prepared to declare yourself in favor of the military power as superior to the civil power, on the plea of military or any other "necessity?"

5. Are you prepared to defend, upon the plea of "military necessity," the suspension of the civil power, so that the question of personal liberty, or security, or property, is held only by the frail tenure of the President's pleasure?

6. Did you vote for, or are you in favor of, the Act of March 3, 1863, entitled "An Act relating to the *habeas corpus* and repealing judicial proceedings in certain cases," which Act allows the President's order to be an answer to any proceeding at any time?

7. Are you in favor of the doctrine of non-intervention of foreign powers with affairs on this Continent, known as "the Monroe doctrine?"

These are questions fairly deducible from the positions I have taken. They are questions which affect every man in this community, involving issues which to a great extent are to be settled in the coming contest. They are issues which cannot be escaped; they are issues which I desire all of you to consider. I believe that I know myself thoroughly when I assert that I am actuated by nothing but an earnest desire that the people of this Northern country should understand the questions involved in this contest; and while I have developed the general principles which I suppose will be discussed (and fairly discussed) in this contest, I shall take the opportunity at future meetings to elaborate these, to show what have been the circumstances of outrage and oppression, and wherein the Constitution has been invaded; and I shall address you as men who have this great issue within your control to settle in the coming contest. I will ask you, fairly and earnestly—without regard to party predilections—without regard to any of the old feelings of animosity which the word "Democrat" may arouse—without regard to the taunts and epithets which have been hurled meaninglessly at us—without designating us as "Secessionists," or "Copperheads," or Disloyalists—I ask you simply to hear us for our cause—to hear us for the great principles which we believe are involved. We call no names. You have said that we were "traitors;" you have heaped upon us a thousand epithets; but we know that if you had understood the law and the Constitution better, you would have known that these terms which you have applied to us are not properly applied, are not legally applied—that they have no meaning in the application which you give them. We have borne it all. But we stand at last face to face with our opponents. We are not a party which has been destroyed. No party which sustains the Constitution can be destroyed. Until that Constitution is trampled out to its last letter, the Democratic party will exist for the purpose of sustaining and supporting the record while it lasts, and they will be true to the record till the end. They have conducted wars successfully: they never have infringed upon the Constitution. They ask that you will now weigh these matters. They are more than the mere antagonisms of party; they are more than the mere feelings, which one party-man may have toward another party-man. They are fraught with elements that will either bring success and peace to the country, or will bring ruin and degradation. I do not care what pretexts may be resorted to; I do not care how subtle may be the sophistry, or how violent may be the denunciation against me or these propositions; I ask you to look at the facts, the reason, the philosophy of these relative positions, and say to me and every other Democrat that you will candidly consider questions that you believe to be important questions, and that you will so decide them that the future may never look back to your action in this contest, and lay upon you the dishonor, if dishonor there be in its results; but that you may look back to this contest with the consciousness that you have conscientiously dealt with its issues, and have made a record that you are willing shall remain forever.

MR. NORTHROP, being again introduced, spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen:—In opening this evening, I propounded certain propositions to the number of five, and certain questions to the number of seven. Two of those propositions the gentleman who has just concluded has directly and distinctly endorsed; but in that endorsement he has suggested what was entirely out of the two propositions, not depending upon them, having nothing to do with them, to wit: the question of State sovereignty; and this he professed to consider I was sustaining as against the Constitution, as against the Union and against the powers which, under the Constitution, should be rightfully exercised in relation to the States. I do not care to begin to discuss what faults there may have been, or what were the peculiar views of any man in power when a great insurrection began, and when a great revolution followed. I am not here to defend anything in relation to the past in this respect. My issues to-night are upon totally distinct subjects; and when I made my propositions to the gentleman, and when I showed, as I believe I did, that they were correctly founded on the principles of the Constitution, I suggested no opposition to the Constitution by the Southern States, or any States, or any statesman of the Democratic party; I brought up the propositions as those which Mr. Lincoln and his party could not sustain and support, because their conduct and their principles have been directly in defiance of them. When Christ preached upon the earth his great doctrine of regeneration and good-will and peace, he did not stand before the wickedness of the time and discuss the question as to who was the author of sin, or how original sin came into the world. He took the wickedness as he found it; he took humanity as he found it; he applied the principles that were necessary to work out the salvation of men as they were—without discussing the question with regard to the thousands of sinners who might have died before his coming. So the Democratic party come forward and ask to rescue this country from its abject position—from its misery—from impending ruin—from misrule—from opposition to the Constitution. It is its mission to do this, and it only asks you to consider the present circumstances of the case, and determine whether its doctrines will not apply to the temporal salvation of this ruined land.

The gentleman talks about the secession principles of Mr. Calhoun; he talks about these dogmas as being preached in the South in 1847 and in 1832. I tell the gentleman that this doctrine comes from the same quarter whence all the good, as he thinks, and all the bad, as some of us think, has ever come. New England preached the doctrine of secession in 1796, almost immediately after the Constitution had been adopted. At a later period it preached it again, and made public the announcement that a State had a right to secede, and that it was the judge when and how it would secede. She was the author of the Hartford Convention, defying the Constitution and the authorities of that day. It won't do to say that the Democratic party is the party that has preached this doctrine. The gentleman must seek the origin of this doctrine where he gets all his good principles, as he calls them. New England is responsible for the bad political doctrines which the gentleman has condemned, as well as a great many more which have not been enumerated, as you will probably see in the course of the discussion.

But, I deny that any of *my propositions* covered the doctrine of the right of the Southern States to withdraw from the Union and defy the Constitution. I said no word in favor of secession. I said no word in favor of the position which the Southern people have taken. I did not say that there was reason for their acting as they have acted, or that they acted under the Constitution. That has been an ingenious point thrown out by the gentleman to make you believe that the drift of my argument was in favor of a Southern opposition to the Constitution, rather than a protest against Mr. Lincoln's opposition to the Constitution. I made no such point. I made no such reference. I took the fact that there is now existing in this country a war,—a bitter war. I said that that war had been carried on originally under a different pretext. Did you find, sir, [addressing Mr. Kelley,] at the outbreak of the war that the Democratic party stood upon any one of these abstractions with which you credit them? Did you not find, as I have already indicated, that the Democratic party arose as one man, and sustained what they believed to be the Constitutional rights of the Government? But it very soon learned (and the gentleman did not care to answer me on this point) that the war was to be carried on, as Mr. Lincoln himself has expressly declared, for the destruction of slavery. I say that that is not an issue sufficiently important (however the mock philanthropy or humanity of the gentleman may deem it) to justify the whole of this great country in continuing this desolating war another three or four years.

We take these facts as we find them. I am arguing, in these propositions, that it is Mr. Lincoln who has taken ground against the Constitution. And the very Constitution which the gentleman believes should be so operative over the whole length and breadth of this country, contains a provision which requires that slaves shall be delivered up, if they escape,—recognizing fully the doctrine of slavery. I am not discussing the reason for the insertion of that provision in the Constitution; I am not discussing whether it was properly inserted. The gentleman has avoided all the issues which I have laid down, and

has made it a condition that I should answer his propositions before he will condescend to answer mine. *Those propositions have not been touched by the Gentleman.* When the gentleman talks about imaginary amendments and asks me whether such and such things took place, I answer, "Why, of course such things did not take place." I am not stupid enough to get up here and maintain that there was or was not any amendment to the Constitution allowing the Southern States to go out of the Union. Nobody discusses a question like that. It has no element of logic in it. It is a question without relevancy; it is a question without application; it is a question which you can all answer for yourselves. Why turn aside from the issue to ask such a question as that?

The gentleman says, "Why not refer disputed questions to the Supreme Court?" I say to him that the action of this administration with regard to the Supreme Court is one of the bitterest records of the administration. Why, sir, the Supreme Court was bold enough to deliver the Dred Scott decision. It did not suit you then?—[addressing Mr. Kelley.] Why does this tribunal suit you now? Do you appeal to it now, because of the new elements upon that bench? Do you appeal to it now, because passion and prejudice have placed upon that bench new men to fill the positions of those who were placed there long before these sectional questions and prejudices arose? You turn me to the Supreme Court. Why, sir, the very Chief Justice of that Court in Baltimore, asserted, in a judicial decision, the right of the citizen to the writ of *habeas corpus*; and the soldiers of Mr. Lincoln crushed out of the opinion of the Chief Justice, and refused that right. Talk to me about a reference to the Supreme Court for the maintenance of my civil rights, when you have passed a law declaring that you have only to plead the order of the President in any case, and the proceeding cannot go on; that there is justification for all that may have been done under that order. Oh! it won't do, sir, to point me to the Supreme Court, with the knowledge I have that it dare not act under certain circumstances. It won't do to refer me to that Court when you have taken from it all the glory that was associated with it for so many years—all the integrity which commanded for its decisions respect from all parts of the country. It won't do to talk to me of Courts of Justice, when bayonets stand in the place of the civil tribunals, and judges are dragged from the Bench by your soldier's in the discharge of their sworn duty. The military power in your hands has suspended the civil power. Oh no, sir! it won't do for you to tell me to go to the Courts, when you know that you have passed laws under which I have practically no rights. If I should go into a Court with a suit for false arrest and imprisonment—if I should go into a Court with any constitutional question affecting the liberty of the citizen—in the name of Heaven, what would be the answer? Have there not been citizens who have addressed themselves to the Courts? Have there not been citizens who believed that the provisions of the Constitution were sufficient to guarantee to them the rights which they thought they possessed, and have they not appealed to the Courts in furtherance of their rights? And have they yet had a verdict? Talk to me of leaving a case to a civil tribunal with a puny Judge and twelve Jurymen—because all civilians and all law are puny now before the hand of power, and the inexpressible power of the bayonet. The gentleman has suggested an issue; I accept it. It is a bitter thing that we cannot go to the Supreme Court or any other tribunal to try these questions of the rights of the citizen against the parties in power. It is a bitter thing; but do not taunt me with it, and say, "Go there," when you know what must be the result.

In following closely the suggestions which the gentleman has thrown out, I must necessarily be somewhat desultory. I pledge myself to follow him closely without one particle of departure, much more closely than he has ventured to follow my argument. If I fail to meet any point which he presents, I hope he will call my attention to it. I pledge myself throughout this contest to shirk no question, but to give a candid answer to every point which may be presented.

The gentleman has said that the issue now to be decided upon the battle-field is the supremacy of the Constitution. I point again to Abraham Lincoln's proclamation, and I say that the gentleman has made a mistake. The question now to be decided by this war is the question of slavery.

The gentleman makes the Democratic party responsible for the existence of the confederacy that was established under the Administration of Mr. Buchanan. That involves the doctrine of secession, which I have not held and have not suggested, and which I have never intimated was a part of the Democratic creed. It is a part of New England goodness and virtue in politics; and I cannot help saying that my conviction is that New England politics has never been truer to the Constitution than New England religion has been to the bible.

The gentleman has referred to Pennsylvania and to her enactment for the abolition of slavery. Pennsylvania did pass that law in which she prohibited slavery within her borders. She did well. I do not object to it. "That act is one of the proud records of Pennsylvania eloquently expressed," the gentleman has said; but, however expressed, the fact is, as I believe, creditable to Pennsylvania. But, gentlemen, Pennsylvania enacted no law, originated no party, passed no resolutions which attempted to make her law with regard to slavery the necessary law of South Carolina, Georgia, or any other State.

The gentleman will recollect that when he speaks of the doctrines of the Democratic party as making the Constitution what he terms "a rope of sand," that is his deduction alone. But I place upon the record the New England doctrine that the Constitution is a "covenant with hell." Choose between them—the gentleman's deduction or the New England assertion.

I concur with the gentleman as to the enormous increase of this country in the few years of its existence; but the gentlemen omitted to mention one important fact. New England did do a share of the fighting; but she did no more, and the record shows rather less, than other States in the Union. But, gentlemen, remember one thing: That which the gentleman considered so important in his argument—the acquisition of territory from France and Spain and Mexico was in every case accomplished under Democratic Administrations, under Democratic rule, and under no other. Remember, too, that the great chain of north-western states was the gift of Virginia. She surrendered to the United States the north-western territory out of which those States were made. There is no exclusive merit in that particular section of country from which the gentleman would have us believe all that is good and great and proper alone arises.

The gentleman complains in his argument that Congress did not amend the Constitution, or that the Democratic party did not amend the Constitution, or some such thing, for the purpose of allowing the South to go out. The gentleman says that they established a Southern Confederacy, and asks whether it was under an amendment to the Constitution. He seemed to suggest that there should have been such an amendment to give them the power.

Mr. KELLEY. I simply asked when such an amendment was passed.

Mr. NORTHROP. My dear sir, it never was passed. I am not dealing with antediluvian records, nor am I dealing with things that never had an existence. I am dealing with facts. I do not ask why it was that Parr did not live to be five hundred years old. It has no application to the question; there is no illustration in it. I am saying to you that when the Administration stands antagonistic to the Constitution, it works revolution. I do not say that the South should take advantage of it. I do not say that the Administration stood so before the South did revolutionize. I only say now what I said before, that standing here upon Northern soil, I do charge the Administration with revolutionizing and opposing the principles of the Constitution, by overturning that instrument, by setting up its own policies and theories against it. I say nothing about the South. Fight the battle as you please there; you have your views—I have mine. But I am fighting now for the principles and the rights of Northern men. I have told you what I would do, and what I believed would be proper to do with regard to this war that is now pending and with regard to the South. I know what Gen. Jackson did. I know that Gen. Jackson did that which if it had been done by Mr. Lincoln, would have averted this revolution. The gentleman spoke of the ships and the soldiers and all the paraphernalia of war which were ordered by Gen. Jackson down toward South Carolina; but also he said that President Jackson issued a proclamation telling the people of that State what they must expect; and the gentleman knows the fact that Jackson did not coerce South Carolina back, but that it was a peaceful compromise and settlement which brought her back. I take the gentleman's record in regard to South Carolina and Gen. Jackson; and I am sorry that the action of President Lincoln toward the seceded States has not exhibited the same spirit of conciliation which was manifested by Andrew Jackson.

The gentleman has referred to the fact that at the present time Florida cannot be resorted to by the health-seeker from the North, and that the Northern man cannot settle in Texas under the homestead law. Well, gentlemen, I am exceedingly sorry that, if you have weak health, you cannot go to Florida, and I am sorry that you cannot take advantage of the homestead law in Texas. But I will tell you a little more than my friend did: if Mr. Lincoln's dynasty is continued for another Presidential term, you won't reach Florida or Texas within the next four years! I sympathize with the invalid, and I sympathize with the homeless man; but if it be a *sine qua non* that they shall go to Florida and Texas and settle there peaceably, the Administration must pursue another course; its present policy is not that which will establish the health of the invalid or conduce to Northern prosperity.

Now, gentlemen, if there is any question which has been propounded by the gentleman upon the other side, which I have not answered, or at least attempted to answer, he will oblige me by suggesting it; and I shall take the liberty from time to time of calling his attention in the same way to what he conceives to be "metaphysical questions" of mine—Virginia abstractions, perhaps! But he must remember one thing: it will not do to frame propositions about the enormity of the offence which may have been committed by any part of a people who are defiant of the law, and conclude that, because he opposes it, the Democratic party supports it. We do not profess to be the *opposition* party. It is a mistake to suppose so. We are the old original party of the Constitution. We have had

various oppositions; but never was the opposition so powerful and so fraught with ruin as it is now. It is because we are the conservative party of the Constitution that we stand here, and that I stand here. It may not be that anything I can say will, by force of reason or argument or declamation, change your views; but I stand here calling upon you to look at the record of the Democratic party. Has there been a great act in the history of our country that is not traceable to it? Look at the elements of power which it has developed in this country. There is no good or great thing of which it has not been the author. I believe that every Territory (certainly there has been but a single exception) has come in under Democratic rule. When the gentleman refers to the widespread progress of this country, so far as Territorial acquisition is concerned, I tell him that it is all the result of Democratic policy and Democratic Administration. I say too, that that portion of our country that is in hostile position to-day, with armed bands upon it, can only be brought back under the same principle of Democratic rule.

When I speak, sir, of State sovereignty, I do not speak of State sovereignty as antagonistic to, or defiant of, the Constitution; I speak of State sovereignty accordant with the Constitution and recognized by the Constitution. I recognize it as a Constitutional principle, and so I speak of it, so I discuss it; and when I speak of that great principle as being the reconstructive element, it is because the States can call together their own Conventions and settle this disturbing question forever; and I believe it must ultimately be done in that way. I do not believe, sir, in blotting out the lines of States and making either Congressional or military districts of them. I believe in keeping up State lines; and I claim the sovereignty of the State as a protection for those lines. I believe, sir, in the right of the militia of this country under the Constitution; and I believe it is *State* militia, and it should be called from the State as such, and not from the Congressional districts of the United States. I am sorry to see established in this country that which was to the framers of the Constitution an object of so much dread—a standing army. I know well, and you know well, how long the questions with regard to a militia and a standing army were discussed, how seriously they were weighed. The leading men of the Convention pointed to the old Governments of Europe; they showed what standing armies had done against the liberties of the people; and they wisely concluded that they could leave the question of freedom with the militia of the States—that this force would be at all times adequate to repel invasion and to put down insurrection and rebellion. I am sorry that there has come a day when the power of the Administration has been able to turn the militia of the States into a standing army against the people of the country.

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